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VICE AND HEALTH PROBLEMS—SOLUTIONS

BY

JOHN CLARENCE FUNK

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VICE AND HEALTH

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VICE AND HEALTH

PROBLEMS—SOLUTIONS

BY

JOHN CLARENCE FUNK, M.A., LL.B.

DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF PROTECTIVE SOCIAL MEASURES, PENNSYLVANIA
STATE HEALTH DEPARTMENT; SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANT, U. S.
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE; FORMERLY U. S. NAVY LAW
ENFORCEMENT REPRESENTATIVE; VICE-AGENT, U. S.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE; SUPERVISING
INSPECTOR, U. S. OFFICE OF NAVAL
INTELLIGENCE



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TO
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
WHOSE INTEREST AND INSPIRATION
WILL DO MUCH FOR GOOD MORALS,
GOOD HEALTH AND GOOD LIVING
THIS LITTLE BOOK IS DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

With a very definite development of interest among groups and individuals having a locality's welfare sincerely at heart, it was felt that a practical guide to certain phases of one of the most important municipal problems would be of some assistance.

Personal experience, covering a number of years, has emphasized the fact that many people who become concerned in the suppression of vice and in its corollary, the reduction in the incidence of venereal disease, are quite ignorant of many of the necessary details essential to a successful attack. Then, too, officials are sometimes sincerely wedded to certain ideas of control and tolerance which have been cleverly inspired from insincere motives.

PREFACE

If, therefore, the facts herein set forth will aid in a rational approach to the vice and venereal questions, this small volume will have served its purpose and justified its existence.

300 N. Second Street,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Sept. 1, 1921.

J.C.F.

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VICE AND HEALTH

CHAPTER I

PROSTITUTION AND ITS CAUSES

Prostitution is based upon a fundamental impulse, and is but the commercialized or misguided manifestation of a normal physiological function. The crime involved, so far as the public is concerned, is not so much in the act itself but in its promiscuity and consequences.

Thousands of men, by no means limited to the unmarried group, seek distractions which the common woman can readily supply; and vicious persons, quick to see the advantage of the situation, individually and collectively long ago sought to stock the market naturally existing and at

the same time to stimulate a greater one. The net result was, that in the United States a comparatively few years ago, nearly every community of any size either possessed an open "red-light" district, of which in some instances actual boasts were made, or had its quieter section to which one could be easily directed.

The denizens of these vice neighborhoods were recruited in a number of ways. Some were forced into the life through faked or actual marriages to dissolute men whose only purpose was to victimize and profit thereby; others by sheer inclination; still others by unfortunate steps leading to seduction, illegitimate children and disgrace; another group because of poverty; and yet others through a false idea of the ease and excitement of a gay life and fine feathers; and a very large class who owing to a low

mentality were for any reason, or for no reason at all, inducted into activities by professional procurers.

It must be realized that behind every woman of vice there are others sharing in her proceeds. Prostitution is very definitely a business proposition. The corruption funds of the manipulators have time and again proved all too alluring to the police and other officials, and thus legal immunity was, and is, purchased. It is almost axiomatic that a municipality is only as good as are its politicians and police force, and they are strict or lax depending upon the amount of general interest displayed; and indifference has been the rule. Desire for gain and public unconcern may therefore be considered as two of the basic causes of prostitution.

A good income being securable from vice, its fostering and develop-

ment was but a natural sequence. In large cities "rings" involving men and women actually engaged in the traffic were developed; and under the paid protection of the police were usually allowed to flourish unmolested. A number of these groups, as will be seen, have been successfully broken. Many smaller units, while possibly not so highly organized, still have their leaders who control the major portion of the segregated business.

The relentlessness with which professionals seek recruits is almost unbelievable. With an average of three to five years' activity for the prostitute, a definite necessity to fill the gaps in the ranks has developed a high efficiency. Small wonder, then, that hundreds of girls annually "disappear", that fresh young faces are constantly being fed to patrons of

public places, and new women are continually arriving at houses of prostitution or are otherwise engaged in various vice enterprises. At the outset, therefore, it must be thoroughly appreciated that commercialized immorality is not sporadic but is backed by power, influence, and the complexities of a modern business organization.

After eliminating feeble-mindedness, the dance hall, even with the liquor adjunct removed, is one of the most potent vice factors; the main objection to this institution is the company to be found there. Many young men who act with comparative decency among their own set, resort to the public dance to prey upon the pretty young girls frequenting them. Besides, men and women, especially in the larger cities, seek such places for outright recruiting purposes. Permit

a young woman to habitually patronize these resorts, no matter how decently conducted they may claim to be, her chastity and possibly her future life are in danger.

The automobile as an element of vice, looms large. Joy-rides are prolific of harm, even with the urging appeal of liquor now minimized. Mothers permit their daughters to accompany young men upon excursions leading to the dark and solitary rendezvous, who would not countenance their remaining alone in a dimly-lighted room with the same escort; and many girls without parental knowledge make a casual acquaintanceship with men in cars who "cruise" the streets for willing victims. In numerous instances the first downward step has thus been taken. Again, many a young woman after a hard day's work in a store or factory,

has innocently sought amusement, and in so doing has permitted herself to be taken to places of questionable character such as shady restaurants, cabarets, and road-houses, there to be gradually, if not abruptly educated to the false idea that to work for ten or fifteen dollars a week was foolish when three or four times as much could be "made easily".

One of the fundamental causes of moral dereliction rests with the home and its surroundings. Crowded tenement existence and poor housing conditions generally, sap the stamina of many, thus developing a predisposition to weaken before the onslaughts of evil. Even in the higher social strata, lack of training in self control, in understanding of the sex impulse, and of preventive knowledge, coupled with an over confidence of parents in the moral stability of their children,

have led to dire consequences. Moreover, the general independence of the modern youth and maid, who as a care-free and pleasure-seeking class has openly revolted at the "old fashioned ideas" of life and living, comes in for its toll. And finally, youth is not so protected as formerly. Immature girls are filling offices and factories. The old time safeguards of sex have therefore considerably broken down; and thus unrestricted and unconstrained daily mingling of men and women creates possibilities leading to illicit ventures for those disposed in that direction.

Notably in New York and Chicago investigations undertaken some years ago resulted in bringing before interested people astonishing facts in connection with prostitution as a traffic; and the large vice districts of those cities were consequently eliminated.

Occasionally a reform wave would strike a smaller place, resulting in a general exodus of vice habitues, who immediately returned to their former haunts when the official order had spent its force.

At the outbreak of hostilities with Germany the United States took a definite and systematic stand against prostitution which extended over the entire land; but despite concerted action by the federal and state governments from that time up to the present, many cities still have more or less well defined vice localities. The reasons for this will be explained in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER II

PROSTITUTION AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS

Commercialized vice is plastic; it adapts itself when it must to conditions. The most usual form, however, is to be found in a group of women living in a certain neighborhood where the business is either openly flaunted by the aid of a red-light and window solicitation, or is more discreetly operated, depending upon the official attitude. Such places are usually located in the side streets and alleys, and frequently near railroads. In seaports a number of them are close to the water front. These localities are known as "districts" or "the line".

A district marks the last step in the demoralization of women, many of

whom need institutional care rather than the psuedo-correctives of the police court with its usual fine and infrequent jail sentence.

It is in such places that liquor may be yet obtained at bankrupting prices; it is here one will find congregated at certain hours the men who "farm" the women and solicit for them; it is here that debauchery reaches its lowest level; and it is here that blasting disease is transmitted to the outside world. But with all of that, it is prostitution's popular and favorite form.

It appears to be a very general opinion that such neighborhoods, with their known houses, measurably reduce the existence of other vice manifestations. Nothing is further from the truth. It is quite out of the question to limit the majority of the prostitutes to one locality. This fact

was well illustrated in certain second class cities wherein recent investigations proved segregated districts to be in full swing. The "high visibility" of these places had dimmed official and civic eyes to the fact later disclosed, namely, that over forty-five per cent. (a conservative estimate) of the common women in these communities lived outside of the pale. It should be evident therefore that "segregation does not segregate"; on the contrary the presence of grouped houses of assignation merely stimulates the commercial feature, develops an added peril to virtue and health, and dulls vision to the other forms of vice.

It is also said that the prostitute is necessary to protect the chastity of other women. Such a statement, even if sound, could have no ethical justification; but the case really works

the other way—more licentiousness, more license.

In a large northwest city* a reign of violence and assault took place upon the closing of its several vice localities; women were terrorized, and law and order were at low tide. When the police corralled the offenders, it was discovered that they were paid hirelings of the underworld whose only purpose was to win the public over to the idea of the necessity of vice as a matter of social protection. The notorious failure of this plot was a terrific boomerang. No district has been tolerated in that city for years, and other forms of prostitution have been greatly minimized. Women are as safe there as in any other American community. Moreover, violence as an argument against the elimination of commercial vice has never

* Seattle, Wash.

been attempted elsewhere. Mothers, daughters and wives need have no fear for themselves if a district is closed; a very vital concern should exist, however, if a district and prostitution generally, are allowed to flourish.

With the segregation theory goes its partner, medical regulation. Again, there is no such thing. The vaunted medical inspection (upon which certificates of health are given and then displayed by the prostitute as an earnest of her good physical condition) is usually made by physicians of questionable ethics. Even if the examination is honest, means are at hand to camouflage certain conditions. And further, assuming that there is no open evidence of disease, in a few hours a prostitute may become infectious.

In 1917, in a Pacific Coast city,* ninety-seven per cent. of the common women were found to be infected. In an eastern city †, in 1915, ninety-six per cent. of the prostitutes had a venereal disease. Medical certificates were freely used by these women. In a small locality, in 1919, there were three houses with twenty prostitutes, each of whom had a physician's certificate, and eighteen of them had syphilis or gonorrhea, or both.

That the clandestine and "charity" girl may also be infected, as she frequently is, does not lessen the outstanding fact that segregated districts and disease go hand in hand. Then, too, while the clandestine and charity girl expose comparatively few, the known prostitute exposes hundreds. In a raid upon a house containing

* San Francisco, Cal.

† Baltimore, Md.

three women, all of whom were syphilitic, cards punched by the madam indicating a payment in advance for the prostitute desired, were seized and used in court as evidence; these contained forty-nine, thirty-seven, and twenty-eight punch marks respectively for the day's activities.*

"What always has been, always will be" is an assertion frequently heard in support of a district's continuance; but immutability has proved to be but a phantom in the face of a virile attack.

Variations of the above reasons are repeatedly advanced, and like the main arguments, apparently possess a certain logical basis which thus makes them dangerous. The propaganda of the underworld in this respect has been most effective; conse-

* See "The Case Against the Red Light", a pamphlet published by the American Social Hygiene Association and State Boards of Health.

quently there are thousands of men and women in the United States, well meaning people, who being casually attracted to the question, are convinced that the segregated district and its known house of prostitution is vice's safest form. Public opinion is in this manner fortified in an attitude of tolerance which truth alone can finally dissipate.

General Pershing, whose experience with the medical regulation of vice in Mexico and with the various phases of control applied to the American Expeditionary Forces, qualifies him to speak, has thus summed up the case against segregation: "Many of us who have experimented with licensed prostitution or kindred measures, hoping thereby to minimize the physical evils, have been forced to the conclusion that they are generally ineffective. Abra-

ham Flexner has argued the case so convincingly that on the scientific side, it seems to me, there is no escape from the conclusion that what he terms 'abolition' as distinguished from 'regulation' is the only effective mode of combating this age-old evil."

Hotels are being generally used for the purposes of clandestine prostitution, and in a great many instances with perfect safety. The conditions found in large hostelries are particularly adaptable to professional immorality. The hotel lobby or corridor becomes an attractive setting for the marketing of wares, which is usually aided by bell-boys or procurers; and once met, the contracting parties have little difficulty in securing accomodations, if not at the assignation point then at some near-by house, the details of baggage being previously arranged.

The small and disorderly hotel, of which there are several in every city of any size and many in the larger ones, operates either boldly or clandestinely, as conditions warrant. Such resorts, irrespective of any district, contain many of the disadvantages of the segregated form and are less likely to be disturbed by municipal interference. A prostitute will remain at one of these places for a week or so, then move on to another, thus operating in a cycle which may involve several cities. Her "guests", who have been procured by her own efforts upon the streets, or have been steered to her by the hotel boys, are entertained in her room.

The low-grade apartment house is quite akin to the disorderly hotel, with the difference that detection is somewhat less easy in the former than in the latter.

Rooming houses ofttimes, when revealed, are places of accomodation where regular "lodgers" are discreetly made available. These establishments differ from the usual house of prostitution in that they have no parlor attachment. Besides, the madam is likely to have certain women on her list, living privately, who are readily summoned by telephone. The latter class is sometimes composed of women who are legitimately employed during the day but for various reasons are willing to quietly prostitute themselves. Houses having no residents but to which women are summoned, are known as "call" resorts.

One of the most general manifestations of clandestine prostitution is observed in street solicitation. This may take the direct form of the spoken word or the more tactful flirtation.

If the woman does not happen to be a regular inmate she will invariably lead her victim to a place designed for the purpose of catering to transient and illicit accommodations.

The automobile, especially the "for-hire" car, is a definite element in vice activity. The chauffeur frequently has several women who are subject to his call; and the automobile being driven to a secluded spot, is used as the *locus operandi*, when necessary.

And lastly, there is the quiet girl who to all appearances lives decently yet who commercializes herself.

While the various phases mentioned above comprehensively cover the commercial manifestations it must be remembered that hundreds of young women become charitably promiscuous; they are decidedly hard to control, and present as great a problem as the commercial counterpart.

Thus it appears that the difficulties in eradicating prostitution are more general than might at first be suspected, and are by no means restricted to a segregated locality. It follows that numerous points of attack are indicated; these must be planned with care and be persistently, conscientiously and generally pursued. Spasmodic local efforts make good press material but do not hit at the heart of the matter. Constant suppression of vice in *all* of its forms in *every* locality is essential to any reasonable advance against the problem. Modern methods, among other things, involve just that.

CHAPTER III

THE BUSINESS SIDE OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution pays and pays handsomely. Finance is its life, gain its very heart. Eliminate the dollar and the elaborate machinery sustaining the traffic disappears.

In districts the girl does not rely upon her own energies for trade. She is regularly established, and has her interested parties on the outside who are masters in the art of information. Men are engaged for the most part, and operate occasionally directly; that is, without any visible means of support, but more often under the blind of some kind of employment. The automobile has created an excellent shield for this activity.

As in the old horse-cab days, the driver of the modern public convey-

ance is well informed on vice localities; and for his regular fare plus a bonus will take the inquirer to them. After landing his patron he subsequently receives an additional compensation from the landlady whose establishment he favors. While all taxi-cab drivers are not connected with the prostitutes, and companies of good standing penalize by immediate dismissal any employee operating illegally, this method of obtaining admission to the underworld may nevertheless be relied upon for satisfactory results.

Policemen also frequently direct inquiring strangers. In short, a district is one of the easiest neighborhoods in a city to locate, if one exists.

A distinction, however, must be drawn between the occasional informant and the out-and-out "cadet". The latter is a despicable person who

is directly controlling one or more women, in whose proceeds he largely shares, if, indeed, he does not get all of them. This is a matter of personal slavery and is most difficult to explain. The power exerted over the unfortunate girl is absolute, and cruelty appears to be an essential to its success. Her type of mind translates a beating into displayed affection, though the logic involved is quite incomprehensible.

Once inside of the resort the willing victim pays a dollar or more for a drink of poor whisky, usually treating the inmates in the parlor who are at leisure, they however sipping cold tea at the same exorbitant price. If the man has plenty of money and can be induced to become sufficiently intoxicated he may later find himself penniless by reason of his indiscretion.

It has long since been demonstrated that with the high rents and various extortions connected with the business, resorts are compelled to rely upon other than the up-stairs fees. Liquor, therefore, has always been considered a necessary adjunct. The "underground railroad" still delivers this commodity freely to such places. However, with the existence of prohibitive prices some madams (as the proprietresses are styled) have successfully adapted themselves to national prohibition by selling soft drinks at a fancy figure, and thus manage to conduct a profitable concern. Incidentally, it may be added that higher charges prevail for privileges than formerly obtained.

It is unnecessary to discuss the details of the internal economy of an establishment, except to remark that by a clever charge system for fashion-

able apparel, peddled by agents catering to the trade, and by the usual fees for board and lodging, the bulk of the earnings of the inmates finds its way into the hands of the madam, who, in turn, surrenders a large portion of it to the landlord. The men directly backing the resorts come in for their share; and the "friends" of the girls receive, either in the form of gifts or money, the small amount net to them.

In the larger cities the tribute system is sometimes operated upon an elaborate scale; the "higher-ups" down to the precinct policeman frequently sharing in the profits. Repeated exposure has to some degree minimized this practice but the occasional scandal and convictions in the courts for this type of extortion, suggest that it yet flourishes.

As has been observed, the necessity

of keeping the ranks in the district filled with a marketable product resulted in an elaborate scheme of procuration. It is difficult to believe that men and women could become so utterly demoralized as to prey upon virtue for gain. This fact is, nevertheless, true. Procurers still seek recruits from farms and villages; newspaper advertisements offering "congenial work and good hours" are successfully employed; factories are combed for susceptible material; and tenement districts scoured for possibilities. Even foreign countries are drawn upon; the international procurer negotiating the passage of the attractive Danish, Polish or Italian girl to this country through the golden lure. Despite national and international regulations, trans-Atlantic liners are met and unsophisticated immigrant girls are occasion-

ally carried off on one pretence or another into a life of shame. And for all this nefarious business large sums are paid.

While "white slavery" formerly played a part in commercial vice, and chastity was thus sometimes defeated by means of a padlock; the indirect method, because of its safety, has always been the more popular way employed to break a woman's morale.

It is quite true that in many cities "districts" are ostensibly closed and in others are running in an admittedly crippled fashion, but the demand for inmates still makes procuration financially attractive, and a nationwide activity. However, it is not over-enthusiasm which suggests that prostitution as a centralized institution is actually on the wane. The signs of the times are unmistakably pointing in that direction.

It is not an indictment against either the American girl or American soldier, rather it is merely the statement of a psychological fact applicable to the civilized race everywhere, but it remains that a certain lure of the uniform and the excitement incident to the World War resulted in thousands of moral casualties on this side of the Atlantic.

Many young women, with no immoral tendencies, were led into sex experiences which were conceivably not within the realm of their conscious possibilities prior to the recent conflict; especially was this true of those who at the time were outside of the control of parents, either by reason of their indifference or on account of living elsewhere. Also, the girl who would naturally fall into such a life became an easy victim and thus developed into a "charity"

proposition. The war ended, the military rainbow faded, but the *experience* was left—and the practice continued. Fine clothes and a "good time" were always to be had. Excitement had become a necessary feature of life and the downward step was easy as well as rapid. Especially were these things true in communities near large groups of soldiers or sailors.

Hotels had been used before with perfect safety and hotels could be used again; this time for money. As a consequence there is today a large class of women posing as legitimate guests, frequenting the better and low grade houses for commercial purposes. That a loose ring exists and that by a careful working out of itineraries girls are floated from one locality to another, there can be no question; though many of them are operating independently.

Respected and otherwise respectable citizens have buildings or rooms which are rented out promiscuously for a term. Corporations and small companies evade the question by hiding behind their charters and consequently lease to women, or men and women, without more than a perfunctory inquiry as to their means of livelihood and general reputation.

The fact that this business pays is impressed not only upon the men and the women in the traffic but upon municipal officials as well. Today many cities in this country are virtually licensing vice. The old time attitude toward the scarlet woman and those who follow in her train still obtains; the police court desires to make a financial showing under the belief that large sums extracted from offenders in fines is synonymous with justice and efficient police perform-

ance. Money, however, is a small item in the life of a prostitute and, like disease, is as apt to be in her possession as not. If financially embarrassed, her "friend" mysteriously appears and pays the fine, which results in the offender's immediate return to the streets for further operations. The city has thus added an extra fifteen or twenty-five dollars to its account and the prostitute has purchased the right to ply her trade for another few months, when she will be caught and fined again.*

It is therefore observed that from the procurer's first concern down to the inevitable interest of justice, money is the motive and the prize.

* The above criticism is based on averages; large cities such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh possess municipal, and morals courts whose function involves the handling of sex-delinquents along most modern and approved methods.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF PROSTITUTION

It is evident from the preceding pages that prostitution as a demoralizing agency is one of the big problems with which nations have to contend. This has been realized to a certain extent for a long time.

Professional reformers, clergymen and others have attempted methods of suppression. Moral suasion, public opinion and legislative enactment have been applied to the end that vice should be eliminated *as vice*; but the lasting advantages of these various forms of attack have been slight.

The World War created a very different angle of approach, based at the time upon sheer military necessity. This offensive, while recognizing the

value of morals as such and the potency of effective punishment, submerged these matters to the basic fact of national preservation.

Never before in the country's history were conditions such as to make possible a discovery of the terrifically vital results of prostitution. With an emphasis startling in its force, the medical men of the draft boards and of the armed services in camp and Navy Yard were confronted with venereal disease. Conscription, being comprehensive as to classes, brought the average youth from all strata of our national life before the rigidly inspecting eye of the official physician; and the prevalence of syphilis and gonorrhea thus found to be coming direct from the civilian communities, compelled national interest.

In seeking causes for the physical condition of our emergency army, a prompt and thorough investigation by the government was conducted, which indicated beyond question that the main source of infection was prostitution, either professional or amateur. A procedure to control this situation, to be later explained, was adopted by the authorities at Washington. However, the main point is, that the medical world was at last alive to a situation hitherto suspected but never before fully realized, namely, that while moral delinquency annually ruined a large number of women and girls, this form of vice was a colossal disease problem and as such was insidiously devitalizing the race.

The following statements taken from the Standard Statistics on Gon-

orrhea and Syphilis * should be impressive:

- 33 per cent. of all prostitutes are feeble-minded.
- 90 per cent. of all syphilitic infections in men are derived from the prostitute, either professional or amateur.
- 50 per cent. of all syphilitic women are infected *innocently*.
- 70 per cent. of women who came to the New York hospital for venereal disease treatment were respectable married women infected by their husbands.
- 85 per cent. of married women who have syphilis have contracted it from their husbands.
- 15 per cent. of all first admissions to the New York State hospital for the insane are traceable to syphilis.

* Pamphlet published by The American Social Hygiene Association.

100 per cent. of all cases of paresis (general paralysis) are directly traceable to syphilis.

100 per cent. of all cases of locomotor ataxia are directly traceable to syphilis.

98 per cent. of prostitutes (white) have at least one venereal disease.

19.6 per cent. of all routine hospital cases (white) are syphilitic.

2 out of every 13 deaths in the United States today are directly or indirectly caused by syphilis.

\$628,750,000 is the yearly cost of supporting prostitution, itemized as follows:

\$165,250,000—Annual sum paid to prostitutes.*

\$51,000,000—Care of insane due to venereal disease.

* Figure based on estimate of 50,000 prostitutes receiving three customers a day at \$3.00 each.

\$97,000,000—Annual economic loss on insane.

\$3,000,000—Cost of blindness due to venereal disease.

\$3,000,000—Detention of prostitutes.

\$300,000,000—Economic loss caused by venereal infection in the general population.

\$10,000,000—Treatment of new cases among men.

In addition to the above amount, large expenditures for courts, police, jails, hospitals, clinics, and for many operations on women must be considered.

Doctor Edward Martin says:

"In the line of present knowledge, syphilis is probably more grossly destructive of human health, efficiency, and happiness than is tuberculosis.

"It is entirely controllable; is prob-

ably curable, if taken in its early stages; therefore, there is no health problem more urgent in its need and more completely within the power of a profession and a community working together, than the control of syphilis."

Dr. C. C. Pierce, Assistant Surgeon General U. S. Public Health Service, has remarked:

"When the people of the United States realize the prevalence of gonorrhœa and syphilis among all classes of society; when they appreciate the extent of the social damage caused by these diseases; when they understand that thousands of innocent women and children are being martyred by them and that this suffering is altogether unnecessary, the venereal diseases are doomed. Then at last the present program of the State boards of health for the eradication of gonor-

rhea and syphilis will be effective, and just as typhoid fever, yellow fever and other devastating plagues have been brought under control, so it will be possible to control these diseases. But until the people of the United States are fully awake to the situation, progress will be slow. It is for them alone to say how soon this scourge shall end."

Doctor Ellen C. Potter states:

"The venereal diseases undoubtedly constitute the most serious menace to the mother and child.

"Any group of men and women who are concerned with the welfare of children must, of necessity, concern themselves with venereal disease, and a constructive program of education, recreation, medical care and law enforcement is essential if these diseases are to be prevented and controlled."

Dr. S. Leon Gans makes this statement:

"The venereal diseases have caused an inestimable amount of suffering to the innocent wife and child. In most instances it has been the result of ignorance and unintentional action of the individual originally infected."

Major Edgar S. Everhart, M.C., in charge of Venereal Disease Control, Pennsylvania National Guard, has said:

"Venereal diseases with their attendant evils are responsible for a greater number of deaths than are the spectacular diseases, influenza and yellow fever. Gonorrhea by preventing conception, and syphilis by causing the death of the unfortunate individual are in truth the scourges of the present day."

Dr. J. W. Williams found 11.2 per cent. positive Wasserman reactions

(indicating syphilis) among four hundred pregnant women.

Dr. C. P. Jean claims 5-6 per cent. of infants of the poorer class in this country have syphilis; older children from 2-3 per cent.

Dr. John H. Stokes, of the Mayo clinic, is authority for the following statements:

"51-60 per cent. of the male population of the United States has or have had gonorrhea.

"The genital transmission of syphilis covers from 80-90 per cent. of all cases. About 50 per cent. of the infections of married women have seemed to me to be contracted in marriage.

"About 5 per cent. of the children who are idiotic are so because of syphilis.

"Williams estimated, it will be recalled, that one hundred men in-

sane from syphilis, represented a net loss based on a life expectancy, of \$212,248.00 in earning capacity, and a cost to the state of Massachusetts of \$39,312.00. According to the census of 1910 there were 180,000 insane persons in the United States. Estimating 12 per cent. of the insanity to be due to syphilis and the experience of Massachusetts to be applicable to the country as a whole, the economic loss in earning capacity and cost of care on the score of a single item in the total bill of only one of the genital infections, would approximate \$467,-000,000.* If insanity, a relatively uncommon complication of syphilis, can alone cost more than a half billion dollars, the cost of idleness and death from other and equally grave complications, such as heart and kid-

* It is to be noted that this estimate includes the loss of life expectancy.

ney disease, blindness, deafness, paralysis due to nervous change, when added together, will total figures that take rank beside the stupendous costs of war. These are estimates of the cost of consequences. The wastage of money spent on ineffective treatment, on the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries, on medical fees, and through reduction of efficiency without absolute crippling and death, is beyond the reach of comprehension.

“....one-half the blindness dating from birth, due to gonorrhea of the eye, conveys no impression whatever of the tragedy. One has to see one of these little children rocking back and forth in a railed-in chair, waving its hand between face and window because the flickering of the finger shadows across the twilight is all it will ever know of more than half of

life; one has to see this thing and watch the baby groping about on the floor and gurgling as it feels of your shoe strings, really to know in the soul of him what gonorrhea means.

"Getting at the matter indirectly, figures drawn from recent army experience indicate that gonorrhea is 3 or 4 times as prevalent as syphilis.

"The percentage of gonorrhea in women varies largely with their social status. Among the most refined types of unmarried women and girls it is probably negligibly small. Of the pregnant women in the public hospitals of a number of Continental cities, 20 to 25 per cent. were said to have had gonorrhea. Prostitutes, professional or occasional, nearly all have it. The estimated prevalence of the disease in these types ranges from 70 to 95 per cent., as determined by various vice investigations, and by studies of delinquent women, such as

that of Haines, who found percentages ranging from 75.7 to 98.2 in 500 cases.

"....enough women are wrecked by gonorrhea in one way or another to maintain an entire specialty in medicine—gynecology, which would become relatively a side issue in surgery if the effects of gonorrhreal pelvic inflammation and of abortion or miscarriage could be eliminated. Few have been found to dispute the opinion of Noeggerath, who first recognized gonorrhea in women as a definite and distinct condition when he stated that 80 to 90 per cent. of pelvic inflammatory disease and 50 per cent. of absolute and one-child sterility in women is due to gonorrhea."

Though accidental infection must of course be considered in computations of this character, the fact as already stated, that 80 to 90 per cent.

of syphilis is by way of direct genital transmission—gonorrhea higher—fortifies the logic in attributing the bulk of these diseases and their *persistence* directly or indirectly to prostitution.

Despite the fact that prostitutes are the dregs and outcasts of society, and as such are scorned by the generality of women, men unhappily are not disposed to assume the same antagonistic attitude toward them. In this matter, therefore, the mistress of the mansion and the sister of the vice district are more closely related than the former ever imagines. It is very well and most proper to argue single standard, continence and the like, but young men (speaking in averages) have so far not been particularly susceptible to these suggestions, and consequently invade vice districts or seek prostitution in its other forms.

While it is not to be concluded that all men are immoral, the fact to be emphasized is, that so long as the prostitute is a readily accessible element in society, the nation's youth is quite likely in large numbers to wend its way to her and thus wound themselves and others.

Parenthetically, a vast amount of suffering and even death can be eliminated if parents of daughters will insist that prospective husbands present authentic evidence of good physical condition; this should include not only an examination for gonorrhea but a laboratory test for syphilis as well.

In a vice raid which caught in its net a number of young boys from a small town, it was freely admitted that excitement and adventure were the compelling forces of the lure—the sexual act a post incident merely. It

was a group idea for a good time conceived and executed spontaneously. Sex impulses on the other hand are by their nature individual. As a matter of fact, a large proportion of the males who patronize vice resorts are not driven there by any overwhelming sex desire. The excitants of the old time "line", such as music, liquor and negligee, prove the necessity of stimulation to produce indiscriminate sex activity. It is fair to assume, therefore, that with the alluring possibility removed, the physiological enthusiasm in a large number of cases would be suppressed. The argument applies equally to the quieter accessible forms of vice.

Something must be done to counteract these influences. The attack has already begun. The enemy is even now forced to fight, but specialists cannot do it all; generals we certainly

must have, but the common soldier must do the actual hand-to-hand work. To better understand the present offensive and the necessity of individual community interest, a brief history of the government's attack upon venereal diseases follows.

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNMENT'S FIGHT

When the White Slave Act became law in 1910, a vigorous attempt was made to enforce it; this was instigated by the Department of Justice and supervised by its Bureau of Investigation.

Under the direct leadership of S. W. Finch, local officers were appointed in all of the important centers of population throughout the country. The duty of such agents resolved itself into a general intimidation of the underworld by keeping a direct supervision over the movements of the known prostitutes. It must be recalled that as late as 1914 many of the cities in the United States had well-defined vice districts, the deni-

zens of which were known to the respective police departments.

As the United States had no authority to dictate local policies, the situation, so far as vice neighborhoods were concerned, was frankly recognized as part of the process to eliminate inter-state traffic in women; this being the purpose of the Mann Act. A list of known madams and inmates was compiled from police data which was supplemented by direct governmental investigation; and by forceful suggestion with the sanction of the city authorities, the heads of the houses were required to notify the government officer of the arrival or departure of inmates, on cards prepared for the purpose. In this manner, a constant state of fear was inculcated among the women and their male partners, as unexpected visits were made by the special agents

to resorts to check up reports; and at these times the consequences of violating the state law were emphasized.

While this procedure was in force, a large amount of repression was effected, and a measure of education brought home to likely offenders. Valuable facts were also obtained during this activity, so that when it later became necessary through military emergency for the federal government to again approach the subject, a strong weapon in the form of information was at hand for immediate application.

From the above it is noted that, prior to the war, organized vice so far as Washington was concerned, was attacked mainly from a legal and inter-state standpoint.

While American troops were on the Mexican border, the Secretary of War ordered investigators to Texas

for first-hand vice facts, which resulted in conclusively demonstrating that restricted districts near large groups of soldiers were a decided health menace to the military population, and that the fine phrase of "medical control" was but a myth. From this the Government deduced that, having proved futile so far as the Service was concerned, this fact held with equal force when applied to civilian communities.

Therefore, when the European war involved the United States, the Secretary of War was in possession of incontrovertible and impressive facts. With wise forethought, in a letter dated May 26th, 1917, he wrote the Governors of states and the Council of National Defense as follows:

"We cannot allow these young men, most of whom will have been drafted to service, to be surrounded

by a vicious and demoralizing environment, nor can we leave anything undone which will protect them from unhealthy influences and crude forms of temptation. Not only have we an inescapable responsibility in this matter to the families and communities from which these young men are selected, but, from the standpoint of our duty and our determination to create an efficient army, we are bound as a military necessity, to do everything in our power to promote the health and conserve the vitality of the men in the training camps."

The Navy Department also took a firm stand in the matter, all of which caused a solid front to develop, involving the Army and Navy, the United States Public Health Service, the State Boards of Health, the Council of National Defense and the Commission on Training Camp Activities,

in an effort to rid the camps of their surrounding vice-infected areas.

It was, however, very soon discovered that the communities beyond camp influence were necessary elements of concern. Segregated and scattered prostitution had to be suppressed wherever possible, irrespective of the geographic factor. The burden, in large measure, fell upon the law-enforcement representatives of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the personnel of which included officers of the Army and Navy, as well as civilians, whose experience fitted them for their work; these men operated in close co-operation with the medical and police officers of both branches of the military service and also with the United States Public Health Service representatives inside and outside of the camps.

State, county and municipal authorities were thus awakened to the vital importance of the subject and to the necessity of generating a maximum of efficiency in vice suppression through the duly and legally constituted agencies. Even with the war emergency this was no easy task. The apathy of police in such matters is proverbial, and in many instances energetic education, coupled with diplomatic threats, was necessary to obtain results. Moreover, numerous city organizations and their representatives had looked upon the class against which the offensive was directed as an asset, and selfishly realized that their sanction to a vigorous uprooting of the evil would probably cause the loss of their own political prestige.

In this connection, it is recalled that a quarantine covering a period

of six weeks was placed upon one of the large cities of the country which effectively restrained the soldiers of the nearby cantonment (at that time numbering over fifty thousand) from entering it; and incidentally, during the same period quite as effectually educated the predominating political influences that the United States government was serious and meant business. An unusual interest in social hygiene and law enforcement suddenly developed which is, to that city's credit, still heartily sustained.

In some cities, before elections, a public expression of candidates on the vice question was compelled (the Government not visibly appearing in the compulsion however) and thus an issue of opposing factions made. When this situation arose, the "clean" candidates were usually, if not invariably, elected.

Ordinances attacking the taxicab menace, infringement of national prohibition, and dance hall mismanagement, together with sundry health measures were under the stress of emergency and the spirit of patriotism, successfully passed through the city councils and often conscientiously enforced.

Allied to the fight against the prostitute who, with the abolishment of the districts, attempted to ply her trade clandestinely, was a direct attack upon low grade apartment houses and hotels. In some instances it became regrettably necessary to assume a belligerent attitude toward even the first class hostellries.

Occasionally a demonstration of conditions became essential and this was accomplished by quiet investigations with the results placed before officials and others directly inter-

ested. The military police efficiently assisted in making raids and obtaining data upon which demonstrations were predicated.

Qualified women lecturers reached the various groups of young women in many cities close to camps, and thus made available authentic information upon the consequences of sex delinquency. Their activity undoubtedly possessed a marked preventive power.

While the extra-cantonment repressive activities were in force, much was being done within the camps themselves. The work in this instance rested upon the shoulders of the medical men, including United States Public Health Service personnel attached to the various commands. Inasmuch as a sick soldier was a decided military liability, definite steps were taken to eradicate disease among the men. The venereal

patients were isolated or semi-quarantined, and through rational treatment restored to health; but the offensive did not stop with that.

The medical departments of the Army and Navy established prophylaxis stations in the camps and in the cities frequented by service men. Possibly this open recognition of a fundamental fact of nature did more to keep the Army and Navy clean than any other measure. Under this system every man in the service who subjected himself to exposure, was ordered to present himself at a station for treatment within four hours; failing in this and subsequently found to be infected, he was punished. To some men this necessity, unattractive to say the least, was in itself sufficient to deter natural inclinations; and if otherwise, made the chances for unfortunate complications compara-

tively remote provided treatment was promptly taken.

Furthermore, the Public Health Service and the Red Cross established clinics and made hospital beds available for the purpose of treating community venereal disease. The wisdom of this procedure becomes evident upon the authoritative statement that "Over five-sixths of the venereal disease treated in America up to the time of the armistice, was acquired before the boys put on the uniform."* In this regard it is also interesting to note that "The incidence of venereal disease actually contracted in the United States after entering into the army was about forty-five per thousand per year (less than half the rate obtaining for the five years preceding the war.)†

* Major Sawyer in "Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention"—Stokes.

† Col. Ashburn in Social Hygiene, January, 1921.

Through the United States Public Health Service, the Training Camp Commission, and kindred lay organizations, such as The American Social Hygiene Association, placards and pamphlets of a sex-educational character were made available to the men. Compulsory lectures on hygiene, reaching the entire personnel, were periodically delivered by the medical officers at the camp, and these were frequently illustrated by moving pictures and slides. Physical examinations were regular and searching. In addition, a constructive program of wholesome recreation was substituted by the government for the former allurements of vice. This took the form of athletics and amusements both within the camp and without, and the establishment of social centers such as Soldiers and Sailors Clubs, Y. M. C. A. and K. of C. huts, Jewish Welfare Boards, and Ameri-

can Library Association buildings; so that, in reality, the enlisted men came under a more rigid paternalistic influence while in the service than that to which, in most cases, they were accustomed in private life.

The sum total of these various activities was that Pershing's Army, and the million awaiting absorption in it at the time of the armistice, was the cleanest group of men in the entire world.

With the conclusion of the war, however, the Government's interest in the problem of prostitution and kindred subjects did not cease; nor could it have logically assumed such an attitude. Hostilities happily coming to an end before the Government's fight against the venereal disease situation could be developed to its maximum, many conditions still obtained which made immediate, con-

scientious and continued effort imperative. A failure to recognize this fact would have been but an admission of national indifference.

With the signing of the armistice certain reactions were, and even yet, are noted. And vice, along with other matters, such as industrial uncertainty and crime in general, has been affected. The idea still appears to be prevalent "that war being over there is no reason to keep the lid on." Upon this theory various municipalities relaxed their law enforcement programs and clinical facilities developed during the war, and governmentally subsidized clinics, in part, if not entirely, went out of existence through the lack of local support. The professional woman and her intermediaries became bold, and in numerous instances districts were reopened.

With a view to continuing repressive measures and assisting in preventive and educational activities, the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board was created by Congress, July, 1918. This bureau inherited the duties, among others, formerly exercised by the Law Enforcement and Social Welfare Departments of the Commission on Training Camp Activities; and fortunately retained a large part of the latter's personnel—trained and efficient professional men and women. Where state health bureaus signified their desires, and where in addition, the state itself had evidenced a proper attitude toward social hygiene, representatives of the board were assigned to them; such agents' activities being directly under the control of the state health officer. In the states where interest had not been sufficiently aroused,

representatives worked out of and under the direction of headquarters in Washington.

Incidentally, it may be stated, that a Congressional appropriation known as the Chamberlain-Kahn fund, liberated money from the federal treasury for state social hygiene purposes on a pro rata basis as to population; only in those cases, however, where the state itself appropriated or obtained a part or whole of a similar amount. The fund in addition provided for hygiene instruction in institutions of learning; for scientific medical research in colleges and universities; and "for the assistance of states in the care of civilian persons —for the protection of the military and naval forces of the United States against venereal diseases".

Peace duties of the Board's personnel, included the direction of all

activity looking to greater efficiency in law enforcement, a campaign of education personally applied for persuasive and constructive purposes, and the drafting and engineering of state, county, and municipal legislation, which from time to time was found necessary. The women agents of the Board made social studies of the problems involved in cases of seventeen thousand delinquent girls, thus providing valuable statistical material for demonstration throughout the nation.

Working in the closest kind of association with the U. S. Public Health Service and state departments of health it was possible for this Board to assist in aiding the medical program directly by arousing public opinion to the necessity of clinics, quarantine hospitals, education for all classes of people, and to help ob-

tain funds for such purposes; the end in view being to make the state, or smaller units (counties, cities, boroughs) practically autonomous so far as finances for a continued fight against venereal diseases are concerned. Congress recently¹ reappropriated \$225,000 for the continuance of the Board's field work. A separate division under the direction of Assistant Surgeon General C. C. Pierce, was created² in the U. S. Public Health Service for the official administration of its venereal disease policies. The following figures taken from "Two Years Fighting Venereal Disease"³ will indicate to some extent the excellent co-operative work accomplished by the Public Health Service and the state boards of health:

¹ June, 1921.

² By authority of the Chamberlain-Kahn Act.

³ Pamphlet issued by the U. S. Public Health Service.

427 clinics have been established.

185,200 clinic patients have been given 2,103,900 treatments.

Nearly 60 per cent. of the druggists of the country have voluntarily agreed to stop the sale of quack remedies for self treatment of venereal diseases.

19,800 newspapers and magazines have agreed to take out or keep out advertisements of quack doctors and medical institutions treating "private diseases of men".

150,000 placards for the purpose of attracting persons to clinics and for education, have been posted.

60,700 physicians have pledged co-operation.

740,000 young men and boys have seen the "Keeping Fit" exhibit.

Thousands of high schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, and industries have co-operated in showing exhibits.

Exhibits and lantern slides have been shown to 13,000 audiences.

Motion pictures have been shown to 3,600 audiences.

5000 industrial establishments have undertaken venereal disease work.

More than 20,500 lectures have been given.

31 conferences of educators have been held.

An appropriation by Congress of \$200,000.00 was made to continue this work.* Until the various states (which, after all, means the people in them) are sufficiently interested to carry this national problem themselves, governmental aid, at least in advice and personnel assistance, if not in money, will doubtless be continued.

* February, 1921.

CHAPTER VI

MEDICAL MEASURES

There are two vital medical factors to be considered in attacking venereal disease. The first, because of its emergency, is the treatment of existent cases; the second, by far the more fundamental one, is the removal of the sources of infection. Only the former will be discussed in the present chapter.

Free clinics should be an integral feature of community sanitation. The institution, as such, may take various forms. Clinics, financed entirely by the state government and operated by its medical and nursing personnel, have been found to be extremely effective; these, however, should function only sufficiently long

to demonstrate their need, when they should be taken over locally.

Clinics are most logically established in hospitals; such a location removes undue advertisement of the patient's motive for the visit, reduces overhead to a minimum, and makes a pay clinic possible through a legitimate diversion of those who can afford a small fee. The income derived from this source should neutralize the outlay for the free operation and should, indeed, show a profit.

Many hospitals depend in part upon the city, county or state for financial support. At least one in every municipality, and more than one in the larger places, should therefore be persuaded to organize clinics. If necessary, appropriations should be made contingent upon such action. Further, no general hospital receiving public funds should be permitted

to exclude venereal patients for there is no valid excuse for this attitude unless it be the one of over-crowded conditions; even so, unfair discrimination against treating gonorrhea and syphilis is unjustifiable. It may be stated, however, that the building programs, projected and consummated, of many institutions are providing ample space for the care and treatment of venereal diseases.

A trained woman social worker should be attached to each clinic as part of the regular personnel. Her work should include the financial classification of the patients (to prevent the public's pauperization), the determination of the "public-health-menace" feature of the case, and the application of rehabilitative measures upon the delinquent female or a proper delegation to a recognized agency.

In rural and sparsely settled communities clinical facilities may very properly be substituted by the choice of a capable and responsible physician to represent the state, drugs and treatment apparatus to be supplied free; and when necessary, state-subsidized post-graduate work, looking to a proper professional qualification, should be afforded the appointee. Country people unable to pay can, in this way, also have the advantage of efficient service. This plan, or modifications of it, has been successfully employed in several states.

A fair proportion of the patients will, in the first instance, seek personal medical advice; the ethical specialists being the more likely men to be approached; and a minimum fee agreed upon by them (which should be the maximum of the pay clinic) will work reciprocally to the advan-

tage of the treatment units—private practitioner, the pay and free clinics.

All public institutions in the state should require of inmates examination for, and the treatment of, existing venereal disease; penal institutions especially should emphasize this work as much infection can thus be detected and treated.

One of the greatest obstructions to effective curative measures has been the advertising quack whose sole object is to bankrupt his victim, usually accomplished by long and inadequate treatment. Millions of dollars annually are in this manner contributed by gullible victims. There is no excuse for the existence of quackery, and laws to prevent it if not already enacted should be passed and rigidly enforced. In lieu of sufficient legislation, or its evasion by carefully worded notices, newspapers carrying

such advertising should be persuaded to refuse it; if unsuccessful, pressure inspired by a local hygiene committee or others interested is quite justified. Some years ago this method was successfully employed upon one editor, manifesting itself in the form of an inspired threat by two large department stores to discontinue the use of his paper as an advertising medium if quack matter were carried. The business office immediately saw the light and the false promises of "restored manhood" and "ten days' sure cures" became newspaper history.*

Self-treatment through the medium of "cures" sold over a drug store counter should also be legislated out of existence; most of them are valueless, and if not, require technic in administration quite beyond the ability or experience of the laity. The false

* Portland, Ore.

idea of "secret cure" has already taken a tremendous toll; it has been authoritatively stated that "a large proportion of the venereal infections of wives and children are to be traced back to the use of some nostrum purchased at a drug store".*

The physician, whether in his private office or on the staff of the pay or free clinic, must be concerned not only with the treatment of the individual patient but should make every effort to locate the probable source of infection. Equally important is the systematic follow-up of the neglectful patient. The social worker, connected with the clinic, working in co-operation with a properly educated health officer and deputies, and certain members of the police force, should be able to adequately handle this phase of the problem.

* Medical Measures, a pamphlet published by
The American Social Hygiene Association.

Pre-natal and post-natal clinics, from the standpoint of prevention, are of inestimable service. These become child welfare centers, which not only have a vast effect in conserving the life and health of children, mothers and families generally, but produce a definite reduction of syphilis and blindness in children; they also carry with them a powerful educational appeal.

The necessity for this service is more readily appreciated when it is realized that "syphilis affects the race by destroying outright seventy-five per cent. of the children of syphilitic parents before they are born, or during the first year of life, and by crippling or weakening a considerable portion of those who survive".* In response to an inquiry made at a large institution for blind children†

* "Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention"—Stokes.

† Overbrook, Pa.

the following telegram was received:

"Of 239 pupils enrolled, fiscal year ended May 31, 1920, 79 were blind from ophthalmia neonatorum. Our ophthalmologist estimates that sixty per cent. of these are gonorrhreal infections. . . ." Such facts speak for themselves.

A report from Thavies Inn, a treatment center of London for venereally infected pregnant women, states:

"....Every child born during the past year and treated at the center was free from any syphilitic manifestations.... If systematic intensive measures could be applied to every mother who has syphilis, while she is carrying a child, we should witness an immediate and surprising decrease in the transmission of infection to off-spring.

"So effective is this treatment of the mother before the birth of her

child that it is the duty of every physician called upon to deal with pregnant women to be familiar with the essentials of syphilology and to secure for those under his care proper expert investigation and treatment if findings show the presence of disease."

There can be no question as to the value of reporting venereal diseases; especially is this procedure necessary upon a neglect of treatment or removal from the jurisdiction. Physicians and the public must be educated to this idea, either by the logic of such a regulation or by the painful experience of penalties imposed for the failure to carry out its purport. Whether the report should be by name or number still remains to be determined. It is quite necessary, however, that the quacks be first out of the way; otherwise for very apparent reasons, a large portion of the business (to the

patient's and the public's detriment) will fall into their hands. Fundamentally, the success of such a measure depends upon an enlightened public and professional opinion, and this feature should be most vigorously pressed. The profession must be made to realize that a disease caused by moral dereliction has no higher standing than maladies innocently acquired, and that an equal obligation exists to protect the public from infection.

The question of personal prophylaxis, as found in the sale of early treatment packages or administrations at a public clinic, appropriately comes under a discussion of medical measures. This form of prevention, if applied early and *properly*, is likely to kill the germs which develop syphilis and gonorrhea. Those favoring this preventive measure state

their argument somewhat in this fashion:

Ready accessibility to such treatment is not likely to increase immorality by inspiring a feeling of security. The real incentive to sex activity is the primal biologic law for the propagation of the species. Skirts to the knees, jazz dancing, bare-legged musical revues, and the absolute freedom of the sexes in daily life may perhaps be considered as some of the more immediate excitant influences, if indeed any are required; but to give credit to prophylaxis for popularizing extra-marital intercourse is much easier claimed than proved. The real concern, therefore, does not ap-

pear to rest so much upon morals as upon the possible medical results to be obtained from such a procedure.

For more than a year one of the largest states * after laboratory tests made by it, has marked an approval of certain "immediate-treatment" packages. The value of this plan lies not merely in such an approval and the consequent distribution of the article to the various drug stores but in its *use* by the ultimate consumer. But despite legitimate advertisement upon the platform, by moving picture slides and commercial posters, the rush for this commodity by the youth of the state, which was prophesied by over-sensitive alarmists, has not materialized.

The British Government has officially placed itself on record as follows:

* Pennsylvania.

"The question which confronts the British Government is that there is no unanimity of opinion on the medical side as to the practicability of self-disinfection for the civilian population, whereas on the moral and social side most weighty objections are advanced against it. This question is one in which the moral and social considerations as well as the medical, are important. In the circumstances the British Government has decided that it cannot give official support to self-disinfection as a policy. The Ministry of Health is of the opinion, however, that the arguments which have influenced the British Government in de-

ciding against this measure, do not apply to the provision of ablution centers. Final conclusions as to the value of such centers cannot be drawn, but experience thus far, warrants the continuance of the experiment.''*

* Statement of policy filed under date of May 31st, 1921. Note—The U. S. Public Health Service, the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, and the American Social Hygiene Association have not *officially* expressed themselves upon this point; however, the question still seems to be a moot one in the United States.

CHAPTER VII

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Every locality possesses its duly constituted officials, as well as agencies, for the enforcement of law. Cities especially have complex and ample machinery for this purpose; boroughs are less fortunate.

The police departments of first, second and third class municipalities are usually sufficient in personnel to maintain law, order and decency; though more frequently than otherwise where vice is concerned, inspiration is somewhat lacking. Heads of departments are sometimes controlled figureheads, whose capabilities are measured not by their professional ability and experience, but rather by the number of votes that

they can command. The force itself is fertile ground for a spoils system, despite so-called civil service. However, it is gratifying to note that a number of cities realize the wisdom of an efficient police department.

It has been estimated that in one of the largest American cities * ten thousand follow crime as a profession, practising it with all of the skill and system of modern business. It was also calculated that this crime trust's annual profits exceeded twelve million dollars. This is alarming, if true. It certainly indicates that vice and crime in very large communities are not the outcome of individual and scattered effort, but are centralized activities with master minds in control. Smaller localities reflect the same conditions. Therefore, if municipal security is desired, a system-

* Chicago, Ill.

atic and efficient fight must be made, and due compensation allowed for it.

Recently, an eastern city,* over-run with vicious elements, obtained the services of a then captain of state police. Politics and tradition were thrown aside and the new head of the department was given *carte blanche*. A strict disciplinarian, this professional officer has obtained most satisfactory results. While the effort was by no means limited to the successful suppression of prostitution, nevertheless under his direction and tutelage the proverbial sympathy of the policeman toward the prostitute was promptly dissipated.

In passing, it may be mentioned that the average guardian of the law has been made to feel by those commercially interested, that the removal of vice is an encroachment upon the

* Wilkes Barre, Pa.

personal liberties of the male population, and that facilities for the promiscuous exercise of the sex instinct are very practically embodied in places of assignation. Protection money, more common than generally supposed, paid to certain policemen, strategically stationed, has also served to maintain false attitudes of leniency. Experience has proved, however, that a half hour's lecture given to the force by a health expert supplemented by an unmistakable attitude by the chief himself, not only officially but personally impresses the patrolmen with the advisability of obeying orders. After all, policemen are reasonable human beings, and when made acquainted with the plain facts of venereal disease in its relation to prostitution, are apt to develop a satisfactory viewpoint.

However, a police department, even

if effectively functioning, is but the first phase in the legal process. Though the detection of crime and the arresting of criminals is properly delegated to that arm of the law, the disposition of the case rests with the judicial branch. Difficulties are here confronted. Under existing legislation, evidence of a most direct character is usually required to hold prostitutes and other sex offenders for a trial by jury, and indeed, even within those jurisdictions where the laws are of sufficient strength, magistrates are too prone to accept a charge of disorderly conduct and thus summarily dispose of the case by the imposition of a fine, rather than to bind over for court. Then, too, if the case does reach the jury, verdicts in favor of the defendants and against the weight of the evidence are likely to ensue.

The "fine" system is utterly inade-

quate as a deterrent. If prostitutes realized that, whether a health menace or not, they could be put to work for sixty or ninety days, or detained in an institution for an indefinite period under penal regulations; and if the men involved in this insidious business were equally aware that their activities would, if detected, send them to the penitentiary for a term of years, less enthusiastic activity would be the direct result.

It is readily understood that jail sentences may in some instances work a hardship, especially toward young women new to the business; but sympathy should not outride the vital importance of results or the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number. Young girls will hesitate to lead a prostitute's life when they realize that being caught involves more than reaching into their purse

and producing a small fine and costs; the procurer will become more chary when he discovers that an attempt to make a fee out of some girl's shame means the closing of prison doors upon him.

A crooked or narrow-visioned magistrate can thus quite easily upset the conscientious effort of a police department. It is here that enlightened officials become essential. Theoretically, the mayor is the inspiration back of the police policy in the average community, and he reflects the attitude of the group of politicians responsible for his election. A police department dominated by a red-light mayor means wide open vice—until the public, urged by reformers, rebels. Even then a removal or two from the force, a notice to the underworld to keep under cover, or a conference called by the chief executive to which

prominent citizens are asked for the purpose of hearing selected speakers deliver addresses on the community's purity, are the general results and usually represent the sum total of consequences.

Thus it is observed that local political and official antagonism to the enforcement of law represents a problem most difficult of solution. Where the question is one merely of unenlightenment, the obstacles are not so hard to overcome. But in either event, the successful handling of the problems comprehends the modern definition of law enforcement activity.

Such service calls for a highly specialized and qualified representative, whose activities must essentially be inspiring in character.

Officials, and not the law enforcement representatives, enforce the law; therefore if the desired ends are

to be obtained a careful study of the administration personnel of any given city should be made. Such a survey, properly conducted, will determine which officials are wrong and those whose sympathies may be counted upon for help. State health departments, therefore, should have upon their payrolls an individual thoroughly competent to perform these duties, operating under the direction of, or in connection with, the division for venereal control.

After a preliminary survey of the views of the officials is completed, authoritative facts of the conditions must also be in the representative's hands before he can suggest a change either directly to the administration or through accredited sources. The vice inspector thus becomes essential.

The term "police detective", except in large cities, is a misnomer.

City plain-clothes men are merely disguised officers and the vice elements know them better than they do the average blue-coat; to employ their services, even if obtainable, would be for many reasons plainly absurd. The same is true of local detective agencies; not so, however, with the state police. With nothing but their efficiency records at stake, two or three trained agents from such a force will in a week's time gather legal evidence against the vice system of a city, including prostitution, gambling and associated crimes. Lacking such a possible source from which to draw, the national agencies may be called upon for assistance in securing information, or the state health departments may have operatives for this purpose attached directly to their organizations.

The practical advantage of such

service is readily understood by the following illustration: A city of two hundred thousand population showed a high venereal rate. The clinician at the state dispensary found unmistakable evidences of red-light operations. State police were called in and in five days obtained the facts. The mayor, with a leaning toward segregation, inspired by a very commercial city health physician, was approached by the state's law enforcement representative, who was informed that vice had been eradicated a year before. Sworn affidavits of a recent date were then offered in refutation. The Commissioner of Public Safety was likewise advised; he, in turn, demanded the presence of the police chief, who sent for his captain, and finally the patrolmen on the beat involved were brought in and officially reprimanded. While the side-play

was unimpressive and the attempts to shift responsibility almost ludicrous, the net result nevertheless was the suppressing of the district and an increased attention given to clandestine vice. Usually, however, the issue is not so clean cut nor the results quite so speedily obtained. It, therefore, becomes necessary to educate local organizations as to the need of improvement, to form committees, and even resort to publicity measures in an effort to develop sufficient opposition to existing vice conditions. It should be readily understood that the law enforcement representative is likely to secure better results by remaining discreetly in the background in this offensive. If he functions to standard he will so instill in the local groups and individuals the principles for which he stands, that after making his evidence and argu-

ments available to these persons he can assume second place; in fact, drop comparatively out of sight. His power should be felt rather than personally demonstrated.

Though local units, of course, must be given attention, the state, in terms of the general population, must also be his concern. Inadequate penal and health laws must be supplemented by advanced legislation, and state officials must be persuaded to assist in its enactment. General policies for the establishment of clinics, detention hospitals, educational and rehabilitative measures should be within his jurisdiction, and their adoption successfully negotiated.

Unquestionably from a health standpoint, clandestine vice presents the most difficult problem for law enforcement solution. Disseminated and clandestine prostitution, as

already noted, take the following general forms: Hotel and apartment house activity, rooming-houses, automobile services, dance halls, skating rinks, and other places of public congregation. To appreciate the difficulties likely to be encountered it becomes necessary to consider these questions in detail.

As previously mentioned, the complex life found in the larger hostelries proves a substantial obstruction to a successful attack. Moreover, the standardization of dress on the part of women and the general use of cosmetics have made it almost impossible to distinguish the lady of refinement from her sister of easy virtue; personalities therefore cannot be safely indulged in by the clerks unless suspicion is well grounded. And immoral persons canwith littledifficulty, assuming they present an appearance

of respectability, obtain accommodation. If the prostitute discovers a too inquisitive attitude on the part of the desk man (which in rare instances occurs), she calls to her assistance the obliging taxicab driver who, posing as her husband, registers for himself and for her as man and wife at another hotel, takes his fee, and leaves the woman free to work the place. The more general practice, however, is to be accompanied by her cadet who "plants" her and acts as procurer and cashier. Strict supervision upon each floor by competent house detectives is capable of reducing the possibilities in this regard; though up to the present time a majority of the managements have had little concern as to the conduct of their guests so long as quiet and order prevail. Here again the question of education becomes a vital factor.

Experience has demonstrated that the average hotel manager or owner is amenable to constructive criticism; conferences called at the request of the local Association including its representatives, and addressed by law enforcement and health officials, very often have a most salutary effect. Once more, authoritative facts based upon evidence, will afford the most impressive method of presentation.

While the better type of apartment house is less likely to be invaded by the prostitute than are the others, many women of questionable character have been accepted by rent agents and have landed safely in these establishments. The eyes and ears of neighbors, however, are quick to detect irregularities, and unless operating very quietly the immoral woman is soon made aware that she has selected an uncomfortable site for her activi-

ties. On the other hand, lower grade places, with little or no ownership supervision, coupled with the general indifference of the other inmates, fulfill a demand comparatively safe for operation. A strict watch kept upon such houses by capable city police, or other secret service men, and the obtaining of direct evidence, will remove the worst features; this failing, the abatement law now in force in a number of states, which provides for the closing of such resorts under a restraining order from the court, may be invoked.

The misnamed "rooming-house" is difficult to undermine. As a "blind" several men may be lodging there, as well as women; the business is ostensibly conducted by the inmates upon a personal basis rather than under the direction of the proprietress herself.

To combat the situation direct evidence is necessary.

The element of salesmanship is a more important problem to the prostitute than ever before; in this respect she is now deprived of the advantages of beer gardens, cheap dance halls with liquor facilities, and oftentimes of open street solicitation. Theatres, fairs, and large public gatherings are still left to her but are not permanent opportunities, and at best are precarious. This predicament creates an increased demand for the man solicitor, known in the vernacular as the "pimp". To meet this necessity, bell-boys, taxicab drivers and even night clerks readily fall into line. Internal sanitation of a large or small hostelry therefore, to be worth while, must involve the utmost scrutiny of the conduct of its personnel.

Taxicab chauffeurs present a very

difficult problem; and this may be properly considered with the third phase of the question, namely, that of the automobile itself.

Though statistics are not available, the assertion is ventured that at this time there is not a less responsible class of men in the country than the auto-for-hire chauffeur. Lazy and frequently vicious, many of these fellows are in direct touch with the underworld and have contacts with the tangible and intangible forms of vice. An effective method of control is in the passage and enforcement of regulative ordinances. Such a law should provide for the answering of questionnaires as to age, residence, prior occupation and references; and a license should only be issued when the police department is thoroughly satisfied as to the applicant's reliability.

While the lower type dance halls largely went out of existence with the passage of the Volstead Act, there are yet many places where dances are conducted with assignation opportunities. Of this type the "closed" dance hall is the most offensive. A "closed" resort is one wherein the feminine contingent is limited to personnel hired by the management. An institution of this character virtually predominates as an assignation center. Investigations based upon personal experience led unquestionably to the conclusion that women who are found in these places are there primarily for the purpose of prostitution. In a resort of this kind raided sometime ago * the disease rate was discovered to be over 97 per cent.; and the women operating in this place, ranging from sixteen to thirty years of age, had been assembled from vari-

* Outside Tacoma, Wash.

ous sections of another state where laws against prostitution made it uncomfortable for further activities there.

Though resorts of this nature are more likely to be found in the western section of America than in the East, its close competitor is the ordinary public dance hall with no real police or moral check upon it. Definite supervision in charge of female probation officers, and the enforcing of the age law, are valuable to a limited extent.

Both skating rinks and cabarets, especially the latter, possess assignation possibilities to a very great degree. However intangible this situation appears to be, it is nevertheless one, which with earnest effort, can be minimized; such an effort should include a tactful policy of police intimidation.

With proper ordinances passed and enforced to eliminate street solicitation, the employment of investigating personnel, the proper patrolling and lighting of parks, and *due punishment* meted out to the convicted offender, this clandestine aspect of the problem can be considerably reduced.

There must not be any confusion as to the limitations of the purpose involved in law enforcement activity. In the present meaning of the term, its application does not seek to control or regulate personal morals. Such matters properly come within the domain of others. Often in practical experience the two objects have been confused with most damaging results.

A strict law enforcement, however, along lines indicated above, has already demonstrated itself to be one of the most powerful methods of combating venereal disease.

CHAPTER VIII

MEDICO-LEGAL MEASURES

There appears to be a very definite feeling among those having first-hand information, that law enforcement activities alone, which deal with the courts in the first instance, do not lead to the desired results as effectually as does medical procedure. This idea is well founded. During the world hostilities the major attack was waged against the segregated vice districts upon the theory that these places represented the large tangible and removable sources of venereal infection. But as time went on and careful investigations were made, it was appreciated that as a matter of health policy the closing of vice districts was

but the beginning of the program for venereal disease control.

Some workers today labor under the misconception that a vice district includes the larger share of marketable prostitution. Consequently, it is not surprising that in many communities well intentioned and interested people are enthusiastic over the idea that a district closed, no matter how, means vice and disease removed. This view, however, takes little account of disseminated and clandestine activity.

The ramifications of sex iniquity have already been explained in a former chapter, but the fact must not be overlooked that individual prostitution as found in hotels, assignation houses, automobile activities and the more recent road-house developments, carry with them as large a disease burden as the district itself.

While vice neighborhoods must be

eliminated, there is more to the question than the mere closing of these places. A large percentage of the women of such districts being infected, it is evident that without medical control of some kind over them, disease is merely spread. Inspired by a reform group or by political expediency a mayor may order his chief of police to abolish the district. What follows?

The average head of a police department already has the names and addresses of the known prostitutes upon his desk, and he quietly issues orders to the underworld to go out of business. Bags are packed and the inmates leave town or seek other fields of operation within the same community, taking their disease with them. Madams of resorts who own their places assume an air of respectability and live more or less pre-

cariously until official vigilance is again dormant.

It should at once be appreciated that a score of red-light districts thus closed, while undoubtedly affecting the element of ready marketability and diminishing to a certain extent exposure to infection, does not in any real way lower the disease incidence.

It is true that new legislation has been passed in a number of states defining prostitution and calling for prison sentences. But the handicaps in obtaining legal evidence and the general attitude of leniency by jurors, will make the advantages of this procedure from the standpoint of health a problematical one, unless medical measures are contemporaneously applied. A jury box containing female representation may in a measure overcome the latter objection. Nevertheless the fact remains that a

tremendous amount of education must be applied to enforce drastic laws on prostitution. A report recently received from a large city having most progressive anti-vice legislation, eloquently indicates that laws and law enforcement are not always synonymous.

After all, the nation's vital interest in vice, at least at the present time, centers around the venereal diseases and their consequences. Most properly, therefore, if the matter can be handled from this point of view it is more logical, and as has been demonstrated, is likely to be more effective.

The establishment of treatment facilities in the form of clinics, even with a thorough follow-up, leads nowhere with a certain class of patients. Young men have been observed loitering in the neighborhood of public clinics for the sole purpose of meet-

ing women when they leave, apparently under the misguided notion that these patients have been rendered temporarily innocuous.

It becomes evident that different types seek medical advice. First, men and women who are sincerely interested in their own recovery and whose conduct, including continence during the infectious period, does not make them detrimental to the public health; and second, those who by their habits, occupation or lack of it, are health menaces. Police cases referred to the clinic, prostitutes and procurers are among the latter class.

The laws, both punitive and medical, are not unfair in their discrimination against the woman. However, a man who has contracted venereal disease, unless of the criminal class or sexually debased, is likely to remain continent during the infectiousness of

his malady. Women, to him, from a sex standpoint, are quite unattractive, and his mood is one of extreme concern for his physical welfare rather than toward licentiousness or promiscuous sex contact. It can, therefore, be fairly assumed that the "respectable" man, married or single, who by reason of a moral lapse becomes diseased, will not deliberately and with malice aforethought pass on his infection to others. It is quite the reverse however, with the degraded man who has no regard for his own physical welfare or that of anybody else. Unfortunately, there are many such.

The largest number of the "health-menace" type are to be found among the prostitutes whose bread and butter depend upon general sex activities. This is the big problem.

The absurdity of merely treating persons of this kind is clear. It would

be just as sensible for a physician or hospital to prescribe for an ambulatory case of diphtheria and then permit the patient to mingle freely in the community until the next visit, as to allow a public-health-menace venereal case to transmit the disease as soon as he or she leaves the treatment room. *This type must be controlled and isolated during the infectious period.* Without an effective quarantine a vast amount of preventable damage is done.

In the very nature of things, the woman who prostitutes herself is more than likely to come under clinical observation from one or another source; and quarantine should at once apply if she is infectious. In raids conducted by police or medical authorities, reasonable discrimination, after proper investigation, can be made against the inmate in favor of

the casual male visitor. If, however, the man either within the house of prostitution or elsewhere, is a police character or is spreading disease, he too should be quarantined.

It is recalled that a vice district in a certain city was successfully invaded, and those found there were brought to the police station, where the legal and medical quarantine features simultaneously functioned.

The representative of the State Department of Health put a blanket quarantine upon all the women, pending diagnosis; but after physical examination for gonorrhea he permitted all but three of the men to leave (bail having been obtained for the criminal charge) upon a promise that they would appear at the clinic for blood tests. This procedure was only adopted after conferring with the police and confirming statements

as to names and addresses. All of the men reported at the clinic and the majority were found to be free from disease. The greater number of the women, however, were found to be infected, and quarantine was in their case continued.

The point is, that the male frequenters in this instance were not vicious but indiscreet; the women on the other hand were thoroughly depraved, and, but for restraint, would have immediately left the jurisdiction.

It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the medical officer referred to above, was two days later informed that the manager of a chain store company was being promiscuous while suffering from gonorrhea; and the report being confirmed the man was apprehended and kept under absolute quarantine, despite the efforts of his business associates to secure his re-

lease. From a practical standpoint, therefore, there should be absolutely no difference of attitude or of treatment when dealing with the man or woman if there is any reason to suppose that his or her liberty will result in a further spread of contagion.

There are two methods of imposing quarantine: First, to placard the home of the patient; second, to isolate and control in a detention hospital. The majority of quarantinable venereals are naturally incorrigible and at best lead nomadic existences, therefore immediately upon the placarding of the house the card is torn down and the person under quarantine leaves town to pollute other fields. Without the establishment of guards at the front and back doors maintained for a twenty-four hour period, this type of restraint is unavailing. Detention quarters adequately

equipped for the care, treatment and isolation of persons who are public health menaces is the only reasonable alternative.

The ideal institution is a separate hospital operated by municipal and county funds, constructed for the purpose and providing wards for both men and women. However, in lieu of this arrangement, hospitals receiving state appropriations should be persuaded to set aside wards for such patients, if possible. Where over-crowded conditions will not permit such a disposition, the renting or purchasing and operating of a building supported by municipal or county finances, is a very proper solution; lacking such possibilities, county jails and almshouses should be utilized as a temporary expedient. Prisons, particularly, due to prohibition, now have vacant sections frequently equipped

with modern conveniences, quite adaptable for such a make-shift policy. The installation of clinical apparatus is a minor detail.

The practical objections to this last mentioned plan involve first, the consent of the officials, which is often hard to obtain; and second, the idea of incarcerating people whose menace is limited to infection with a communicable disease. However, when it is realized that most of these patients are not unfamiliar with the penal features of a jail, based upon previous personal experience at one time or another, the second objection becomes one of sentiment rather than of solid reason. It may be stated that a gratifying attitude of co-operation by officials, in these various phases of control is being observed.

The establishment of a centralized institution or a group of institutions

within the state and under its direction, operated upon a financial plan similar to hospitals for the insane, is already receiving consideration by several states.*

Obviously, as a preliminary condition to the above outlined ideas, legislation, if not already existing, should be enacted.

The benefits of quarantine are quite apparent. The possibility of the patient's infecting others is eliminated; and with the prostitute this is an exceedingly large factor. Figuring on five exposures a day and two infections, the control for thirty days of one hundred patients saves six hundred from disease. Again, the possibility of reinfection during the treatment period is also removed.

* The state of Pennsylvania has a 400-bed hospital for the treatment, care and isolation of volitional and public-health-menace patients; (the latter admitted under quarantine.—Act of May, 1921.)

Moreover, with proper social service, rehabilitative measures can be instituted, and with some chance of success where the young offender is concerned. Then, too, medical observation can be undertaken, and the psychiatrist can with care seek for feeble mindedness, and after cure of the venereal disease can have the mental defectives permanently removed from society. And finally, quarantine has a deterrent influence upon further harmful activity after the offender is released. Being thus detained and liberty taken away, the patients are made to appreciate to their sorrow that here is an instance where the shyster lawyer, bail and even *habeas corpus* proceedings are absolutely impotent.

Pennsylvania perhaps has gone further in applying quarantine than any other state in the Union. By law,

patients may be quarantined while diagnosis is being confirmed, upon a reasonable suspicion that a communicable disease exists.* A *prima facie* or convicted prostitute, therefore, is reasonably suspected of having venereal disease, based upon incontrovertible medical statistics that from ninety-four to ninety-six per cent. of her kind have gonorrhea, or syphilis, or both. This is a powerful weapon and its effectiveness has been most clearly demonstrated.

Pennsylvania State Police have been commissioned health officers and as such obtain evidence; later the prostitutes are apprehended and quarantined in a house of detention. This is accomplished in the business-like and efficient manner for which this organization is known the world over. State police in other jurisdic-

* Act of April 16, 1921.

the casual male visitor. If, however, the man either within the house of prostitution or elsewhere, is a police character or is spreading disease, he too should be quarantined.

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as to names and addresses. All of the men reported at the clinic and the majority were found to be free from disease. The greater number of the women, however, were found to be infected, and quarantine was in their case continued.

The point is, that the male frequenters in this instance were not vicious but indiscreet; the women on the other hand were thoroughly depraved, and, but for restraint, would have immediately left the jurisdiction.

It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the medical officer referred to above, was two days later informed that the manager of a chain store company was being promiscuous while suffering from gonorrhea; and the report being confirmed the man was apprehended and kept under absolute quarantine, despite the efforts of his business associates to secure his re-

and generally reached by education, though difficulties are in the way. Home life as an institution is not the compact organization it formerly was; too frequently it represents a comfortable refuge where the necessary creature comforts are obtainable, and stops there. There is a reason for this. The modern attitude toward diversion is one of the outstanding features of our social life. Today, young and old demand a crowd and a ticket to measure up to their idea of fun; self-satisfying pleasures are *passé*. Firesides, in consequence, are forsaken for automobiles, cabarets, dances and theaters; and normal family life loses its grip. Parents, therefore, must be taught to reaffirm their natural prerogatives and cease to permit young daughters and sons to become imbued with the false standards of life so frequently ab-

sorbed at the motion picture house, dance hall and the all too common joy-ride. Relying less upon the virtue of their offspring and more upon rationally applied discipline, the morals and health of children can be successfully guarded.

It is apparent that the above statement is considerably easier to make than is its application; and will need in addition to the parents' ambition, assistance from the children themselves. It is right here that optimism is justified. Self control taught in childhood can be relied upon to so fortify the average youth that he will not fall an easy prey to sex temptations.

The adolescent, too, is most impressionable—amenable and retentive to new ideas and thoughts. Teachers, if qualified, can be of immeasurable assistance in instilling moral values

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Teachers are the links between parents and children, and as such can supply deficiencies in sex-education not received at home. Institutions of higher learning should have compulsory courses in physical, mental and emotional hygiene, preferably given in the first term of the first year. Many first sex experiences take place during this trying period, when with the restraint of the home or the preparatory school removed, temptation is strong and delinquency becomes a line of least resistance. Women's institutions, moreover, must not be overlooked in this regard. Too often young women while informed upon many subjects are deplorably ignorant with respect to their own biologic and physiologic nature; and this lack of information has frequently created conditions leading to unfortunate results.

In any educational program, group contacts should be made; for example, such as are found in large industrial plants, factories, stores, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and various civic organizations; in short, the entire community should be systematically covered. How is this to be accomplished?

Extreme caution must be applied to the technic of approach. Tact should be the controlling factor in the presentation. While no definite general rules can be laid down, anything which smacks of fanaticism should be studiously avoided, both as to personnel and subject matter. To be effective the subject must be handled *sanely* by *sane* people. Over or misplaced emphasis may kill the chances for desired results. Reformers should not be employed for publicity purposes; on the other hand, business

men and women and physicians of both sexes command and obtain respect. Lectures should be standardized for the various groups, and as far as possible be distributed to the speakers from a central office, such as that of a state health department. With the youth especially, personal rather than sex hygiene, should represent the burden of the message, but eloquence and emphasis should be directed as an incident to the latter. With more mature audiences subtlety may be dispensed with and a direct presentation made.

With the various avenues of publicity accessible, it becomes a question of logical utilization rather than of choice. Any and all of the propaganda channels may be employed.

The motion picture as a medium is unsurpassed, reaching, as it does, millions of people. Most state boards

of health possess for distribution movie films and stereoptican slides designed to impress the observer with facts which should deter and reduce promiscuous vice. Private agencies, such as The American Social Hygiene Association of New York City, also make similar material available. Commercial picture houses, churches, schools, industrial plants, all should be urged to display such exhibits. It must, however, not be overdone—too much familiarity in the form of repetition will breed indifference and even contempt.

Short articles in the public press are most advantageous, but the utmost care should be taken as to the presentation of the subject. State supervision through the educational division, or officer, of its health department, is most desirable. Owners and editors of newspapers, fre-

quently uninformed of the necessity of publishing such features, refuse them; courteous pressure in these cases is indicated and essential.

The distribution of approved pamphlets prepared for the main social groups will familiarize many with the disease risks of promiscuity and thus help to engender a proper feeling against the various vice manifestations.

The methods of presentation above outlined call for local initiative. While a state department of health may be reasonably relied upon to furnish a measure of the impetus, it cannot furnish all of it. If education is to be really effective the inspiration involved must be produced from the inside, which plainly depends upon community interest. A state campaign imposed upon a locality, by its very nature, is a temporary matter; and in this phase of the attack as well

as in all of the others, perseverance and persistence alone can bring lasting results.

With misinformation acquired over a long term of years as the result of ignorance, patience must be exercised in the attitude of many men and women upon the general questions concerned. When it is discovered that there are leading business men and city officials, who, despite overwhelming scientific and medical evidence to the contrary, still believe in segregated vice and in attempts at medical regulation, one cannot be too hard upon the individual official and the average man who treats this matter with indifference.

Conversion will come, but it cannot be attained in a day or even in a year. Patience and consistent perseverance, however, will eventually reap their reward.

CHAPTER X

WELFARE AND REHABILITATION

The development of social work has been exceedingly rapid in recent years. Juvenile, morals and domestic relations tribunals, as well as organizations specifically interested in these phases of community and individual welfare, have called for a special group of trained persons, who, as the need arose, were found. Universities and colleges have introduced courses of wide range into their curricula designed to qualify men and women in this type of activity. Applied philanthropy and social service may therefore be considered as a profession in itself.

No community is properly equipped to handle the general problem of vice in its relation to health, unless it has

trained sociological personnel connected in some manner with the law enforcing staff. Where special courts do not exist workers should be attached to the police department or the district attorney's office.

As intimated in a previous chapter, small communities are limited in enforcement personnel. Too often the dignity of the law is upheld in a desultory fashion by an eighty-dollar-a-month chief of police and two or more equally underpaid assistants. This deficiency, so far as vice is concerned, can in some measure be overcome by an efficient welfare worker.

Every community, be it large or small, possesses its relatively fixed number of delinquent women and girls; and in addition presents a clearly defined pre-delinquent problem. The specialized case worker as a detector of sex dereliction in neighbor-

hoods of limited population becomes therefore a highly necessary adjunct; she can render invaluable assistance in locating the known characters commercially inclined, and even in the face of police indifference can direct to clinics those found to be in need of treatment. Also, when required, she can initiate and complete an institutional disposition of the case.

The value of such work should at once be clear. Venereal diseases in many small places can be traced to a comparatively few delinquents who usually are of the clandestine or semi-clandestine variety. This results in their walking the streets, engaging in solicitation, and becoming rather well fixed in the eyes of the community. However, with a cleverness born of necessity, this type frequently so conducts herself that the arm of the law cannot, or does not, reach out for her;

it is then that the case worker's interest may be tactfully applied. She is not compelled to wait until the offender has been arrested; and the lack of court evidence need not embarrass her. Inferences drawn from appearances and actions are all of the evidence she requires. Her official standing makes the approach easy; and her training qualifies her for a tactful handling of the situation. A dozen girls removed from the community and an additional number rendered non-infectious, will markedly reduce the incidence of venereal disease in small places. An efficient representative should be able to accomplish this within a short time.

In cities the individual interest of the social worker only becomes active after a diversion of a case by the courts or by a welfare group. With the reference of the case personal his-

tories are obtained, mental and physical tests made, and the conditions prerequisite to proper disposition ascertained. A personal study of the hardened prostitute leads to the conclusion that as a class rehabilitative measures have little, if any, effect. Feeble-mindedness, neurasthenia, criminal tendencies and drug addiction indicate that the chances are decidedly against any real headway in reform. Institutional restraint is the only reasonable solution.

A different outlook, however, obtains with the young delinquent of normal or slightly sub-normal mentality. Often proper advice tactfully applied, coupled with a judicious follow-up, will make possible a change for better in her mode of life and in the end restore her to a firm social footing. It is in cases of this kind that the worker can produce the most impressive results.

The pre-delinquent phase is by its nature quiet, but most important work. Young people living in over-crowded rooms and amidst insanitary conditions, or under the domination of criminal or cruel parents, or surrounded by other demoralizing influences, are removed to better planes of life, thus saving them to themselves and to the state. It may be remarked that more energy is being directed toward this question than formerly—the proverbial ounce of prevention being properly considered as worth more than the pound of cure. But whether it is the pre-delinquent rescued, the young woman reformed, or the hardened character restrained, the value of social service to a community, viewed from the angle of the individual case, more than justifies itself.

While, primarily, the social worker's first concern should be the successful handling of individual cases, it is by no means her limitation. In fact, unless connected with a court or an organization in a large city, where the amount of work naturally calls for exclusive specialization, the possibilities will not be reached, if she stops there.

With the ever-increasing and natural interest of women's groups in national, state and local welfare, much constructive work can be accomplished through them. Armed with convincing facts developed within her field, the worker should be able to generate a decided interest for the general program. Therefore, a well-guided influence in this direction will assist in molding personal and official opinion to the necessity of clinics, detentional facilities, community edu-

cation, recreation, and rational law enforcement. Indeed the agent is only restricted by her own qualifications. Accordingly, it becomes extremely important to obtain for such service an individual not only thoroughly acquainted with the abstract academic features, but one *who is qualified as to personality.*

Sex hygiene demands a solid background of common sense to keep the subject, from the worker's angle, on an even keel. Over-trained specialists should therefore be studiously avoided.

For a state approach, rehabilitative measures are fittingly applied by the social service personnel connected with the clinics, already touched upon in a former chapter. In addition, employment bureaus of both the state and municipality can be utilized in restorative activities. A successful

plan has been operated in Pennsylvania, which involves the diversion of the hopeful cases freed from quarantine to the State Employment Agency which, in turn, locates the person in self-respecting work, either in a state institution (by way of demonstration) or other suitable place, the scarlet letter being removed in the process. It is, however, emphasized in this connection that only the women amenable to rehabilitative attempts during the quarantine period should be considered.

There is another class (all too common) which becomes a very important problem; and its solution has as yet not received the attention that it deserves. Reference is made to those young girls and women who possess a constitutional moral obliquity, and whose actions are based upon an inherent weakness of character rather

than upon downright criminality or viciousness.

Experiments made upon women of this kind indicate that rehabilitation methods are of little, if any avail; they are neither responsive to the constructive help of the social service worker nor to the punishment meted out by the legal authorities. Imprisonment is apparently a periodic experience in their lives, and while, of course, smarting under the confinement, they are not in the least deterred by it. These are the repeaters—the familiar faces coming before the magistrate; and no end of counsel and no amount of punishment appear to do them any good.

Under present conditions, medical treatment is about all that can be given them. Once rendered non-infectious, they are turned loose upon the community and a reinfection

again makes it possible for them to do great damage.

While industrial schools will very greatly help a number of such persons, the majority are not susceptible to any training. Being neither insane nor imbecile it is impossible to commit them to psychopathic institutions. Personal care and custody for a long period seems to be the only solution; and farm colonies with their outdoor work and manual labor seem to possess the elements of humanitarism and rational therapy so necessary under such circumstances.

As a distinct remedial measure, the industrial home is of great service. Particularly is this so with the youthful misdemeanant. An indeterminate sentence calling for confinement at such a place, where training, work and moral uplift are all emphasized, will have infinitely more permanent

effect upon her than being lodged with the demoralizing company of the average jail. As a matter of fact, iron bars alone have never accomplished reform.

These questions likewise call for the leadership to be found in the qualified social worker. Suggestions, while in themselves necessary, are of little moment unless carried out; and the sustained interest looking to such a conclusion, is properly and should be effectively borne by those in the community who are paid to do just that sort of thing.

The angles of general social welfare work are many and diverse. Factories, industrial plants and community service organizations, all designed to increase the social morale, indicate to some extent the large proportions of this comparatively recent activity. It is being realized more

and more than factories filled with fresh air and sunshine together with general sanitary conditions, plus mental and social therapy, are sound business principles. The outlook from a community welfare standpoint is exceedingly favorable.

Moreover, organized recreation is playing its part. The American Play-ground Association and the Boys and Girls Scouts are engendering principles of morality and body building which should have a lasting effect upon American youth. As a moral regulator, and hence as a prophylactic against disease, properly guided play and recreation are unsurpassed. A social worker is in a position to successfully advocate the gospel of fresh air and rational outdoor diversion for all classes; and her program is not complete unless she does so.

CHAPTER XI

GOOD GOVERNMENT

The various methods of attack already mentioned, while essential to any headway with the venereal problem, very decidedly need an alliance with good government for any basic readjustment.

The present system of local administration, as applied in the majority of cities, is dominated by political groups, which, concerned with their own selfish interests, are prone to be quite indifferent to rock-bottom reconstructive measures. Consequently candidates are chosen for office not because of any displayed or supposed aptitude but upon a basis of expediency. A certain western community, for example, recently elected

as its chief executive a man of limited education and lacking in personal business initiative; and his associates who were chosen at the same time were more or less of the same caliber. It is not strange that men of this type are controlled and the finer sensibilities of office thus throttled. Police departments as a result do not possess the necessary inspiration, and fail to develop morale; and organized forces of evil already established become more or less permanently powerful.

Rotary, Kiwanis Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, and civic organizations undoubtedly have great community value, but as the above suggests, present day municipalities are not ruled by resolutions from such bodies—professional politicians have the last word *always*.

The fault is not with the politician or the form of government, but with

the average citizen who prefers to delegate his inherent political interests to someone who has more time than he has to "bother with them". The inevitable thus occurs.

The man looking for the job and the cash it will bring him connects with the politician—if he himself is not already one—and spends time, money and energy to accomplish his desires; while the bank president and successful business man are content to gather their coats about them, keep out of the mud and vote for those of their party who are being cleverly manipulated to office.

In this connection, an eastern city recently lost a police magistrate who was slain in a disorderly house whose patron he was. The righteous indignation of the men and women who represent the commercial life of that community was consequently aroused.

They at last realized that while the very life blood of their locality, through its manufacturing interests, commerce and tangible wealth, was controlled by them, another group who existed upon crime and its proceeds, were dictating the conditions under which they and their children should live. And, further, that these conditions developed a dangerous atmosphere.

Today the representative men of that locality are politically in control, and inspired and assisted by their women-folk, are officially directing affairs. With the erstwhile politician discredited, and people in office whose primary interest is service, crime and disease among other disorders are being relentlessly fought.

While the above illustration was an aggravated case and the reaction exceedingly strenuous, the general out-

look nevertheless is bright. By perseverance and elemental justice, women now have their word at the polls, and in consequence they are intensely interested in politics. Attempts to develop blind partisanship within the feminine ranks have failed. This contingent is not especially interested in local Republican or Democratic candidates, as such, but it is anxious to see men in control who represent ideals, clean conditions and real service. Is the candidate personally decent? Does he stand for a righteous administration? Will he sincerely and conscientiously protect the community against vice? These questions will have to be answered satisfactorily before the women bestow confidence with their ballots.

In addition to voting for candidates, women of organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, The

Federated Clubs, and others, will successfully persuade their husbands, hitherto scorning politics, to become personally interested. This will result in enlisting them in the fight against corrupt politics, even to the extent of their becoming candidates themselves. Moreover, women will soon be directly controlling the house-keeping phases of government by popular election to offices of this nature; and it cannot come too soon.

Due credit must be given to the men on their own account. Recent years have demonstrated a weakening of the old-time laxity in municipal matters. A very definite minority have, under one guise or another, supported an aspirant for reasons other than his political connection. Indeed, the non-partisan feature of commission government has given great strength to this attitude even though,

by reason of machine tactics, its fullest expression is as yet unrealized.

It is but logical to suppose that thoughtful and progressive men and women will in the near future understand that community welfare is a much larger problem than punishment and prison; and that from the standpoint of venereal diseases, the immoral can no longer be left to churches and courts to reform, the vicious to the penitentiaries to punish, and the feeble-minded to roam at large. It will also be appreciated, that housing problems are by no means limited to cries against the tenement house profiteer, and that the general uplift of a city cannot solely rely upon the occasional expression of some rich man's philanthropy.

Prophylaxis in its most comprehensive sense will then be considered a vital necessity. Community houses,

recreation centers, rational amusements and municipal welfare will receive the attention they deserve. Stress will be placed upon the prevention of crime, more time and energy will be expended upon the conditions that foster disease, and housing conditions will be approached from other than the ledger point of view. All of this is reasonable, and the more so because it will pay. Eliminating sentiment, the Golden Rule is the soundest kind of a business principle; crime, disease and its associate, corrupt politics, cost enormously in dollars and cents alone. This cold-blooded business argument is being realized more and more; and the sentimental one (if compassion and pity for suffering and disease can be so styled) is becoming most vigorously the concern of women.

To conclude: If citizens will look

upon their town as a corporation in which they have a special personal interest, and elect worthy representatives on the planks of righteousness, efficiency and economy, the elimination of vice and its attendant evils will speedily ensue.

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